

cycles of death and devastation have brought unspeakable human tragedy, deeper division between and within the two great traditions, and painful stagnation and failed prosperity for Northern Ireland.

It does not have to be that way. Addressing the Irish Parliament in 1963, President Kennedy quoted the famous words of George Bernard Shaw: "Some people see things as they are and say, 'Why?' But I dream things that never were, and I say, 'Why not?'" May those words inspire the search for peace today.

The present must learn from the past. As the Joint Declaration states: "the lessons of Irish history, and especially of Northern Ireland, show that stability and well-being will not be found under any political system which is refused allegiance or rejected on grounds of identity by a significant minority of those governed by it."

Equality and mutual respect are the twin pillars of peace. It is clear that the Nationalist community will never accept a role of subservience to Unionism. And the Unionist community will never accept a role of subservience to Nationalism.

The obvious and inescapable conclusion is that these two traditions can find a stable relationship only on a basis of equality and mutual respect. A successful outcome must mean no second-class citizens on this island, and no second-class traditions either.

The peace process does not mean asking Unionists or Nationalists to change or discard their identity and aspirations. It means using democratic methods, not bombs and bullets, to resolve the inevitable differences and tensions between them.

However far into the future, whatever the color of the flags, there will be two communities, each with its own character and its own pride, sharing this beautiful piece of earth.

The heritage of America offers a hope and a lesson. The motto of America—to which John Hume has often referred—is the Latin phrase "e pluribus unum"—out of many, one—the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The diversity of America is America's greatest strength, and the diversity here can be your greatest strength as well.

As you travel the road together, the choice is whether it will be as wary adversaries forever fearful of each other, or as friends and neighbors who agree on fair rules for the journey ahead, willing to meet and master fateful challenges together.

At its core, the conflict is about each side cherishing its noble ideals, and fearing the other may damage or destroy them.

If the true goal for each side is the protection of its rights and aspirations, rather than the denial of the rights and aspirations of the other, then surely there is a high and common ground. Protecting the rights of both sides, based on principles of equality and mutual respect, is the surest path—perhaps the only path—to peace.

I appeal to the talks participants to ask nothing for their own side they are not prepared to grant to the other—and to ask nothing from the other side they would not accept for their own. Let us make that principle the Golden Rule for the road to peace—to do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

I urge everyone involved in the peace process to approach the talks with a view to giving as much as they can, rather than as little as they think they can get away with. In the words of Seamus Heaney, you must "walk on air, against your better judgment."

As we come to a new century, the three basic relationships—within the North, between North and South, and between Britain and Ireland—can be transformed. Hatred and injustice can be replaced with respect and equality.

Taking full advantage of this unique opportunity will bring lasting peace, and a genuine place in history for all those who make it happen. Failure to grasp this opportunity will be devastating. History will harshly judge any who fail the test and waste the decisive moment.

I particularly encourage the young people of this island to become involved in the work for peace. For it is you—even more than your parents and your grandparents—who have the most to gain, and the most to lose.

As you extend yourselves to reach agreement, the United States will exert itself to build more bridges. Personal bridges. Political bridges. Economic bridges. And be assured, I will do all in my power to see that the U.S. assumes a central role in providing economic assistance to implement the agreement that is reached.

In the closing pages of the Iliad, Priam, the elderly king of Troy, goes to Achilles to beg for the return of his son Hector, whom Achilles has slain in the war. Achilles, in an act of simple humanity, gives the old man the body of his son.

The last lines of Michael Longley's eloquent poem "Ceasefire" draw an analogy with Northern Ireland. Priam speaks these words:

"I get down on my knees and do what must be done

And kiss Achilles' hand, the killer of my son."

The two communities in Northern Ireland must reach out and do what must be done—and join hands across centuries and chasms of killing and pain.

And there is great pain in both communities. Families—Protestant and Catholic—have been denied the bodies of loved ones to bury. Families—like those whose loved ones were killed on Bloody Sunday—have been denied the truth. Families—like those whose loved ones died at Enniskillen—have been denied justice. Families—enduring generations of unemployment—have been denied opportunity. Families—harassed by security forces—have been denied dignity. Families—victims of punishment beatings—have been denied justice. Children—Catholic and Protestant—have been denied their future. It is time to say enough is enough is enough is enough. It is time to replace hate with hope.

My prayer today is that individuals, families, and political, religious, business, educational and community leaders across Northern Ireland will show the forgiveness and compassion and humanity that John and Rita Restorick showed—that Gordon Wilson showed—that Joyce McCartan showed—that Michael and Bride McGoldrick showed—that everyone must show.

Like so many of you here, my family has been touched by tragedy. I know that the feelings of grief and loss are immediate—and they are enduring. The best way to ease these feelings is to forgive, and to carry on—not to lash out in fury, but to reach out in trust and hope.

So in closing, let me share with you a letter my father wrote in 1958 to a friend whose son had died. Fourteen years earlier, my oldest brother Joe had been killed in World War II. Ten years earlier, my oldest sister Kathleen had been killed in an airplane crash. My father wrote to his grieving friend:

"There are no words to dispel your feelings at this time and there is no time that will ever dispel them. Nor is it any easier the second time than it was the first. And yet, I cannot share your grief because no one could share mine. When one of your children goes out of your life, you think of what he might have done with a few more years and you wonder what you are going to do with the rest of yours. Then one day, because there is a world to be lived in, you find yourself a

part of it again, trying to accomplish something—something that he did not have time enough to do. And, perhaps, that is the reason for it all. I hope so."

Too many lives of too many sons and daughters of this land have been cut short. We must dedicate ourselves to accomplish for them what many "did not have time enough to do"—a lasting peace for Northern Ireland.

Thank you, and may God bless the work ahead.

#### NOMINATION OF DR. DAVID SATCHER, TO BE U.S. SURGEON GENERAL

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I am pleased to support the nomination of Dr. David Satcher for U.S. Surgeon General and Assistant Secretary for Health. I have examined his qualifications and achievements, and I believe he has the capacity to serve this country well in the important role of the nation's top physician.

On Tuesday of this week, I, along with Senators GRAHAM and JEFFORDS and Representatives MORAN and LEACH, announced the formation of the Congressional Prevention Coalition. Former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop was kind enough to join us at the press conference.

During the course of his remarks, it struck me how greatly we have missed having a national spokesperson on health issues the past three years. Dr. Koop spoke forcefully about the grave health risks posed by tobacco use, lack of exercise, and poor diet. He didn't pull any punches—he gave a stern lecture to all of those present on the dangers inherent in the so-called couch potato lifestyle.

I have reviewed Dr. Satcher's statements before the Senate Labor Committee, and he clearly is anxious to start in along the same lines. At his confirmation hearing, Dr. Satcher stressed the importance of disease prevention and health promotion. As he put it, "Whether we are talking about smoking or poor diets, I want to send the message of good health to the American people." And I was delighted to learn that one of his top priorities in this role would be to put the health of our children and grandchildren in the national spotlight. To my view, all of these matters fall directly within the job description of a U.S. Surgeon General.

As I said, we have been without a Surgeon General for three years now—a period of time when we have been confronted with a staggering array of public health issues. The need for a Surgeon General has never been greater, as we are seeing an increase in smoking among high school seniors, widespread substance abuse, continuing struggles with AIDS, and a startling rate of obesity among youngsters. And as we consider the potential consequences of human cloning research, I know that I, for one, would benefit from the perspective that a Surgeon General could bring to this issue.

Several of my colleagues have expressed their misgivings about this nomination. Some have raised concerns about Dr. Satcher's views on late term abortions. Others have questioned his role in a series of AZT trials that were conducted in Africa. As Senator JEFFORDS, the Chairman of Labor Committee, and Senator FRIST, the Chairman of the Public Health and Safety Subcommittee, stated during the debate on the nomination yesterday, however, these are not new charges. Indeed, each of these issues was raised by the Committee during Dr. Satcher's confirmation hearing, and it's my understanding that he responded satisfactorily. Indeed, his answers on these and other matters have been available to all Senators and the American people for some months now via the internet.

Dr. Satcher's participation in many aspects of the health care system—provider, scientist, public and private administrator—give him the extensive knowledge and experience necessary to fulfill his role as the U.S. Surgeon General. He has dedicated his career to improving public health.

I urge my colleagues to join me in voting in favor of Dr. Satcher's nomination.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Wednesday, February 4, 1998, the Federal debt stood at \$5,475,809,861,023.23 (Five trillion, four hundred seventy-five billion, eight hundred nine million, eight hundred sixty-one thousand, twenty-three dollars and twenty-three cents).

One year ago, February 4, 1997, the Federal debt stood at \$5,300,797,000,000 (Five trillion, three hundred billion, seven hundred ninety-seven million).

Five years ago, February 4, 1993, the Federal debt stood at \$4,173,289,000,000 (Four trillion, one hundred seventy-three billion, two hundred eighty-nine million).

Ten years ago, February 4, 1988, the Federal debt stood at \$2,458,727,000,000 (Two trillion, four hundred fifty-eight billion, seven hundred twenty-seven million).

Fifteen years ago, February 4, 1983, the Federal debt stood at \$1,198,779,000,000 (One trillion, one hundred ninety-eight billion, seven hundred seventy-nine million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,277,030,861,023.23 (Four trillion, two hundred seventy-seven billion, thirty million, eight hundred sixty-one thousand, twenty-three dollars and twenty-three cents) during the past 15 years.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate a mes-

sage from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:02 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following joint resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate.

H.J. Res. 107. Joint resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the award of attorney's fees, costs, and sanctions of \$285,864.78 ordered by United States District Judge Royce C. Lamberth on December 18, 1997, should not be paid with taxpayer funds.

At 1:59 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, without amendment:

S. 1575. An act to rename the Washington National Airport located in the District of Columbia and Virginia as the "Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport."

At 3:02 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

S. 1349. An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Prince Nova*, and for other purposes.

S. 1575. An act to rename the Washington National Airport located in the District of Columbia and Virginia as the "Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport."

At 3:31 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2846. An act to prohibit spending Federal education funds on national testing without explicit and specific legislation.

#### MEASURES REFERRED

The following joint resolution was read the first and second times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.J. Res. 107. Joint resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the award of attorney's fees, costs, and sanctions of \$285,864.78 ordered by United States District Judge Royce C. Lamberth on December 18, 1997, should not be paid with taxpayer funds; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The following bill was read the first and second times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.R. 2846. An act to prohibit spending Federal education funds on national testing without explicit and specific legislation; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the second time and placed on the calendar:

S. 1611. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to prohibit any attempt to clone a human being using somatic cell nuclear transfer and to prohibit the use of Federal funds for such purposes, to provide for further review of the ethical and scientific issues associated with the use of somatic cell nuclear transfer in human beings, and for other purposes.

#### ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on February 5, 1998 he had presented to the President of the United States, the following enrolled bills:

S. 1349. An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Prince Nova*, and for other purposes.

S. 1575. An act to rename the Washington National Airport located in the District of Columbia and Virginia as the "Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport."

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. THURMOND, from the Committee on Armed Services:

The following named United States Air Force officer for appointment as the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and for appointment to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 154:

*To be general*

Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, 0000.

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

*To be lieutenant general*

Maj. Gen. Thomas R. Case, 0000.

The following Army National Guard of the United States officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

*To be brigadier general*

Col. Michael J. Squier, 0000.

The following Army National Guard of the United States officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

*To be brigadier general*

Col. Robert L. Echols, 0000.

(The above nominations were reported with the recommendations that they be confirmed.)

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. LEAHY (for himself and Mr. FEINGOLD):

S. 1612. A bill to provide for taxpayer recovery of costs, fees, and expenses under section 504 of title 5, United States Code, and